A MEMORIAL SERVICE. . .

. . . for Tracy D. Mygatt, who died on November 22 and for Frances Witherspoon, who died on December 16, will be held at Community Church, 40 East 35th Street, in New York City. The time–4 p.m., the date–Saturday, February 2.

We hope that a large number of peace people will turn out to pay tribute to these two persons who were among the WRL's co-founders and who worked together for peace throughout their lifetimes.

JANUARY
FEBRUARY
1974

WRL NEWS

Published by War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012, U.S. branch of the War Resisters Intl., a pacifist organization with affiliates in 20 countries and individuals in more than 80 countries. Staff—Karl Bissinger, Ralph DiGia, Ed Hedemann, Grace Hedemann, David McReynolds, Editor—Jim Peck. Printed by the Grindstone Press, a Movement print shop. No. 180

IN COMMEMORATION OF

TRACY D. MYGATT & FRANCES WITHERSPOON

Photos by Ann Morrissett Davidon
(see her article on back page)

IMPEACHMENT RALLY

Photo by Kate Sheehan

Jerry Wingate and Geoffrey Pope of AWIN staff at rally Nov. 18 in Macon, Georgia, when Nixon made his public appearance at Mercer University. A second impeachment demo on the occasion of the Republican Party State Chairmen's Convention in Atlanta was organized by AWIN on Dec. 7, with over 500 pickets. Nixon failed to show on this occasion but all the other Republican national heavies did.

A CORRECTION AND AN APOLOGY

In re-setting the page of the November-December issue at the last minute so as to include a photo of Tracy D. Mygatt, our printer inadvertently misplaced the four opening paragraphs of Rabbi Everett Gendler's article, *The Middle East–After the Ceasefire*, placing them in the middle of the story (near the bottom of the first column). These are the four paragraphs starting with "The unutterable anguish of the Middle East today . . ." and ending "Several factors contribute to this."

In a letter of apology to Rabbi Gendler, your editor said: "I'm really sorry about what happened. I make a special effort to make each issue of *WRL News* a quality job. So, when something like this happens, I take it seriously."

WRL STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The War Resisters League affirms that war is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive nonviolently for the removal of all the causes of war.

☐ I support this statement and wish to enroll as a member of the WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE.

signature

address

city

state zip code

Send to War Resisters League
339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012

INDOCHINA

by Grace Hedemann

Honor the Peace is a national peace campaign initiated at Germantown, Ohio, Oct. 26-28 by a coalition of sixteen peace organizations including War Resisters League. Jan. 21-27 is the most appropriate time to launch the conference's year long united campaign by national and international people for 1974 to free political prisoners and stop aid to Thieu. Throughout the country on January 26 and 27 community groups will be demonstrating and educating the public by actions and media barrage. However, this is only the beginning of the campaign. The core of the campaign is the resolutions/pledge project. The widest spectrum of groups will be approached to adopt their own resolution about the prisoners and aid. During the spring primaries and fall elections, all candidates for the House and Senate (and Senators not running) will be faced with having to take a definite position by signing or rejecting a nationwide pledge. However, the real emphasis of this campaign is on the resolutions discussed, written and adopted by political and non-political organizations in the community. Joint resources will be available to help initiate and carry out this campaign from the participating individuals and organizations: a suggested resolution/pledge, enumerations of violations, organizers manual, and so forth. If you are interested in joining the campaign write WRL, Att: Grace Hedemann, **Honor the Peace** for packet of materials ($1.25).

Campaign Freedom still exists. With the changeover in the staff, changes will be made in the campaign and those changes will be initiated by your suggestions. It is a distinct project from **Honor the Peace** which aims to educate the American public through group affiliation, and legislative pressure. **Campaign Freedom** is a one to one relationship with/and for a political prisoner. In the next few weeks, those of you that have participated in **Campaign Freedom** will receive an update and questionnaire on the project.

A.J. MUSTE AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

February 11, 1974, will mark seven years since A.J. Muste's death. Each year in the January-February issue, we have carried an item to remind readers of him.

In 1973, his close friend and a co-editor of *Liberation Magazine*, Sidney Lens, had published a labor history entitled *The Labor Wars*. So, it seems appropriate, to quote from it a story of civil disobedience as practiced by an organization which A.J. organized in 1930, the National Unemployed League. Specifically, the story relates the key role of the League's Lucas County branch in winning the historic 1934 Toledo Auto-Lite strike which, as Lens points out, "opened the path for organization of the entire automobile industry."

Lens writes: "The League, like the federal local (which called the strike) had been enjoined from picketing, but its officers had less respect for the sanctity of the courts. Unity of the jobless with strikers was a cardinal principle, almost a religious dogma of the American Workers Party (of which A.J. was a leader). Sam Pollack and Ted Selander, two young Musteites, wrote Judge R.R. Stuart on May 5 advising him that 'On Monday morning May 7, at the Auto-Lite plant, the Lucas County Unemployed League, in protest of the injunction issued by your court, will deliberately and specifically violate the injunction. . .' True to their word, they mobilized 1,000 unemployed before the Auto-Lite plant gates on the first day, 4,000 on the next and 6,000 on the third. The two League leaders were arrested, tried on the charge of violating the injunction and released with a court warning not to do any further picketing. The judge evidently felt that if two of the leaders would agree to sin no more, the pickets would all go home. But the two revolutionaries confounded him by going directly from the courtroom to the picket line. For the next two weeks . . . each day thousands massed in front of the plant, while county deputies on the roof, trained tear-gas guns on them."

In addition to A.J.'s noted essay, *Of Holy Disobedience* (30¢), we have available:

Peace Agitator, Nat Hentoff's biography of A.J. (a hardback *reduced in price by 50%* because of availability of a stock of remainders). $1.50

Essays of A.J. Muste, edited by Nat Hentoff (paperback) $3.45

Liberation Magazine's A.J. Memorial Issue, (reduced in price). . . . . .50¢

ORGANIZING NOTES

by Ed Hedemann

WRL is going through a critical period of change during a time of lessening interest in Indochina and a diminished questioning of the military–partly due to the *apparent* non-involvement of U.S. troops in Indochina, and the elimination of the draft.

However, it is essential to challenge

- the vast U.S. aid to Saigon and its effect on people's lives,
- the military as it continues to receive more and more money each year,
- conscription as all men continue to be registered
- and makers of military hardware.

We must learn from the Vietnam experience and realize what U.S. money and U.S. corporations do in other countries. And finally we need to build alternatives to this system of violence–one step being nonviolence education.

One of the best ways I know to educate and reach people, and confront the makers of war and oppressors of people is through LOCAL GROUPS. WRL can keep sending out literature, but it is really WRLers in their own communities that can reach people best by education and by action that hits close to home. We cannot let up now and be deceived by an end to the draft ("but why do we still have to register?") and no troops in Vietnam ("but why does the military get more money this year than last?"). Wars will end when we refuse to be complacent.

Why form a local? Some of you may feel that it is more trouble than it is worth to organize a group, have meetings all the time, and besides it is often easier and sometimes more effective to do actions by yourself or with a friend (witness Ammon Hennacy). But my experience of being in a WRL local for 3 years has shown me that a group provides 3 important functions: ideas for actions (some of our best ideas for projects came from meetings or casual comments in discussions), people to rely on for projects, and a sense of solidarity or feeling of community when working together for a common goal (being able to share our successes and experiences is a tremendous boost to one's spirit to keep going; failures are taken better when there are others to share the burden). These three things for me make all the hassle of group formation and dynamics worthwhile.

Would you like a local in your area? A WRL local group may be organized wherever there are five or more WRL members who wish to work together in their area. However, it only takes one persistent WRL member in order to begin building a local.

Those who are interested in forming a local, can write me, and I can send names and addresses of WRLers for zip codes in your area. However, it may be more effective to recruit new WRL members out of potentially active people that you can find in your own community.

Advantages of being a local. The National Office can provide a good deal of information to solve many problems a local may run into. Locals receive posters, leaflets, books, and buttons for a discount. A newsletter containing reports from locals and other information will soon be circulated among all the WRL local groups. A WRL organizers' manual soon to be completed will contain organizing tips, description of successful local actions, study guides, bibliographies, and resources to further information. And the National Office will alert local groups on national actions.

Since I just joined the WRL staff in December, I am in the process of contacting all our local groups to see whether they are alive and well, dying or dead, or need revival. Present estimates put the number of local groups that WRL has at 15 to 20 ranging from WRL/West (San Francisco) formed in December 1965 to Denton (Texas) WRL formed early in 1973. Stay tuned to future issues of *WRL News* for exciting reports from local WRL groups across the country.

Anyone can begin a local so long as she/he has two essential ingredients–interest and persistence.

WAR RESISTANCE. . .

. . . the quarterly journal of the War Resisters International is available to WRL members on a subscription basis. It provides a forum for communication and discussion for the international pacifist community. Recent editions have focused on the Indochina Ceasefire, the Middle East Crisis, Peace Action and Peace Research, etc. Available from the WRI, 3 Caledonian Rd., London N. 1, England . . . $2.50/year.

KEY LIST

WRL has what is known as a "KEY LIST." People on this list receive mailings throughout the year giving information on local organizing and detailed information on projects sponsored by the League and other groups. If you are interested in receiving these mailings and feel that you will be able to make use of them in local organizing activities, please send your name to WRL, Att: Ed Hedemann and $2 to cover our costs of mailings.

BOYCOTT GULF

Photo by Bradford Lyttle

In what the *New York Times* described as "the worst storm of its type to hit the city in nearly two years," these pickets marched in front of Gulf Oil headquarters on Avenue of the Americas December 17. Co-sponsored by WRL and American Committee on Africa, the picketing was part of a nationwide demonstration called by the Gulf Boycott Coalition on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Boston Tea Party. In leaflets distributed, the East India Co. and other 18th century corporations whose highandedness prompted the Boston Tea Party, were equated to Gulf and other present day multinational corporations. Gulf is singled out because it is the biggest U.S. investor in Angola and as a taxpayer, the heaviest U.S. supporter of Portugal's colonialist war.

NEW LITERATURE

CHILE. A special issue of IDOC's international North American edition including documents and analysis in 3 parts: "The Allende Years, The Coup, Under the Junta". 78 pp $2.95

PEACEMEAL. A cookbook from the Greenwich Village Peace Center including "Openings, main features, meatless fare, from the garden, bread basket and endings". 142 pp $4.00

"WAR"

Your editor feels that this 8½-by-11 book, published in December, is the most all-inclusive denunciation of war which he has encountered. Therefore, WRL will make it available even though few of our members will buy it at the current price of $16.95

"Every war is hell," but in this book you "read about 14 of them, each more absurd and destructive than the last," wrote Anatole Broyard, who reviewed it for the *New York Times*. And you don't simply read Albert Leventhal's text: you view a series of really moving photos.

WRLers should make sure that their local library stocks the book.

The ABCs Of Amnesty

by Jerry Olsen

EDITOR'S NOTE–Jerry Olsen is coordinator of the National Council for Universal & Unconditional Amnesty.

What is amnesty? Does it have a precedent? Whom would it affect? How is a just amnesty won? Perhaps the most emotional question for the American people since the return of POW's, amnesty directly affects hundreds of thousands of Americans–some say over one million. Yet the war goes on today, supported by U.S. dollars, equipment and minds. The war is very much alive for more than 200,000 political prisoners incarcerated in South Vietnam, in violation of the peace accords. They must be released. Aid to the puppet Thieu regime must be stopped. Free elections must be held. But the war is still very real to Americans as well. It is real for the vet who lives with nightmares of atrocities experienced in an unwanted war thousands of miles from home. It is real for the POW, imprisoned for years. And it is real for the individual needing amnesty.

What is an amnesty? President Nixon instructs: "Now, amnesty means forgiveness." Nothing could be further from the truth–unless the reference is to the *real* war criminals, the Thieu's, executives and stockholders who encouraged and profited from the the war, war hawks. It is a war unjustified by American or international law, unjustified by the will of the American people.

But if amnesty does not mean "forgiveness," what does it mean? "Amnesty," like "amnesia," comes from the Greek root, *amnestia,* which can be translated "not remembering," or "forgetting." But such a definition is inapplicable here. We must *remember,* not forget, the lessons of amnesty. That is a way of saying we must remember the war. As hopefully each reader will have learned, to ignore history is to be doomed to repeat its mistakes.

The U.S. cannot tolerate–perhaps it cannot withstand–another Vietnam. What has been gained by a decade of struggle and 55,000 American lives, not to mention untold numbers of lives from other nations? Our "gains" must be counted in losses. The most important loss, of course, is human lives. But in addition we must count the psychological cost to all. We must count loss of animal and plant life, of a countryside so severely ravaged that it will take decades to return to comparable productivity. In our age of overpopulation and malnutrition, this is a high cost. Can it possibly be offset by any positive results, if such could be found? And even should the reader believe this possible, can one justify intrusion into lives and internal affairs of a nation thousands of miles from our shores?

Does amnesty have a precedent? Would this be the first time in history that amnesty was granted? No. Article II, Section 2 of the United States Constitution provides for "Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States." This provision has been invoked *thirty* times by the Chief Executive. An interesting twist was provided by President Jackson subsequent to the War of 1812, when the provision was conditioned upon the stipulation that amnestied individuals never again enlist in the military. Present-day recipients of amnesty likely would find little difficulty with such a stipulation! It follows that amnesty would not affect a "viable force in the future" with which the President has expressed concern.

In addition to executive amnesties, seven acts of Congress fall under the category of amnesty, including the Universal Amnesty Act of 1898. We might even stretch the definition of amnesty for a moment and point to aid and "amnesty" to enemies after every war in U.S. history. With a vast history of amnesty behind us, can we not make peace with our own children as well? The Labor Party in Australia provides us with an example. Upon becoming the new government, it granted unconditional amnesty to all its 9,000 Vietnam-era draft resisters.

Whom would be affected by an amnesty? For lack of space it is not possible to provide a breakdown of categories of those affected by amnesty; but suffice it to say that more than *700,000* Americans need amnesty. This figure includes such diverse elements as: vets with less than honorable discharges and draft resisters with criminal records, all of whom have limited job opportunities, to mention just one hardship suffered; deserters-at-large unable to secure discharge to care for family problems; and men who said "no" to the draft and to an illegal, immoral war rather than accept deferment or exemption resulting in incarceration or other punitive measures. In addition to these 700,000+, we must mention untold numbers involved in civilian protest, resulting in criminal records.

How is a just amnesty won? We have sought to build the case for amnesty. We have shown a large and diverse number in need of amnesty–and an even larger number of family members suffering indirectly. We have looked at the meaning of "amnesty." We have shown precedent. But we cannot close without considering how to achieve amnesty for Americans characterized by Sen. Edward Kennedy as "those who saw things we now see, but saw them sooner and did the only thing they could." These individuals have support in their efforts from a vast number of religious groups, among them the United Church of Christ, the World Council of Churches in its Uppsala Report, and the Roman Catholic Church in its Pastoral Constitution, *Gaudium et Spes.*

Perhaps the first thing we must remember when working for amnesty is to demand that it be *universal.* It must include all categories. It is unfair and unreasonable to attempt to differentiate between them. Protest against an immoral war is precisely that, regardless of how expressed.

At the same time, a just amnesty is *unconditional.* War objectors were not the real criminals. Any punitive action implies guilt. Experience shows these men and women will not accept punitive "strings" attached to amnesty. Some writers and speakers suggest case-by-case review. Review boards would grant amnesty to some, to those with "pure" motives, and deny amnesty to others. This line of argument brings many problems, which probably are insurmountable. The first difficulty lies in judging motivation. Does anyone act on a single motive?

This raises a second difficulty in case-by-case review: who would judge? The war criminals who condemned their lives? Judgment by peers might prove difficult to accomplish for men and women who already suffer greatly for their convictions. But even were we to isolate peers, can the reader conceive of the time and monetary cost involved in providing a fair trial for far more than 700,000 individuals, even if this were desirable?

What is being done to achieve a just amnesty? Individuals and groups across the country, in Canada and overseas have begun to work actively for the cause. Combined efforts of 60 groups and many individuals have come together to form the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty. Veterans' groups, peace activists, religious organizations, community groups, as well as others, pool their resources in NCUUA. They have hired staff, which has begun to carry out projects. Speaking engagements are conducted. Descriptive materials are available. If readers have specific questions, want to join a group in their area, or want to start a new group, they should contact NCUUA, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012.

IMPEACHMENT AT HOME ... WAR ABROAD

by David McReynolds

The campaign to impeach Nixon has continued to gather strength, though quietly and undramatically. Several organizations have thrown support behind the campaign, the most significant of these being the normally conservative AFL-CIO. In addition, the American Civil Liberties Union has begun to mobilize its own membership in each Congressional District, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the National Lawyers Guild, and other groups are active, and as a result of a national meeting on impeachment held in Washington, DC in late December, a schedule of events has been agreed on.

There is to be a full week for a **NATIONAL LOBBY-IN** from **February 4 through February 8**. All who can are urged to come to Washington, DC for a week of direct and sustained dialogue with members of Congress. For information on housing, help in setting up meetings with your Congressperson, etc., **please contact** the National Campaign To Impeach Nixon, 1404 M Street N.W., Washington, DC 20005, phone 202-659-1118.

February 9 through 15 there should be hometown **IMPEACH-INS** to let the people know the issues, explain what impeachment is, how it works, the reasons behind it. On **February 18**, the legal holiday which celebrates the birth of George Washington, there is to be **A DAY OF TRUTH** in which local actions demand the truth about Watergate, corruption, the energy crisis, the military/industrial complex, etc. March 1-3 there are plans for a national conference on impeachment–probably in the Midwest–in which WRL will take part (and which local groups of WRL should plan to attend as soon as the exact location is known). Finally, in April or early May there is a call for a mass demonstration in Washington, DC to demand the Impeachment of Nixon.

The League has given full support to the Impeachment campaign, with hundreds of filled-in petitions being returned to our office, and special Impeachment Packets (50¢) being mailed out–the packet includes poster, button, bumper sticker. Lynne Shatzkin Coffin, in a final burst of activity before leaving staff to return to college, prepared a handsome three-color brochure on impeachment, giving the reasons for it, stating the League's position on impeachment, and listing the ten things **you** can do in **your community** (5¢ a copy, $2/50).

The important thing, from the League's point of view, is to realize that it is not only Nixon, but the system itself that has been exposed, that needs to be "impeached"–changed in democratic and radical ways. Nixon *reflects* the drive toward destruction of our freedom, he did not create it. To impeach the President is a move against the basic forces of which he is only the most visible representative. But "impeachment without change" would give a dangerous illusion of legitimacy to Gerald Ford as he carries out exactly the same Nixon policies.

In the meantime, while a broad coalition of forces moves to impeach Nixon for "high crimes and misdemeanors," one new reason for that impeachment comes with the news from Vietnam. It is a tragedy that the Paris Agreements, signed a year ago this January, have now been officially violated by both the U.S. government and the Saigon regime. The first violation passed almost unnoticed some months ago. When the U.S. signed the Paris Agreements it referred to "the two parties" and pledged not to take sides in the internal affairs of South Vietnam. Less than six months later Nixon announced the U.S. recognized *only* the Saigon regime and not the Provisional Revolutionary Government–a simple, flat, unilateral violation of the Paris Agreements.

In recent weeks matters have worsened sharply. On December 30 the *Washington Post* quoted President Thieu as saying "There will be no general election in South Vietnam as called for by the Paris ceasefire agreement." The level of fighting has sharply increased and while a casual reading of the press might suggest this was caused by the PRG, the *New York Times* reported on January 6 that " . . . a steady flow of bombs, artillery shells and new equipment has been coming in from the United States since the ceasefire. American officials maintain that all of this is merely one-for-one replacement as permitted by the Paris Agreements, and if so, the high level of resupply indicates *a very high level of activity by the South Vietnamese armed forces* [emphasis added]." The same issue of the *Times* reported that the American Ambassador to Saigon, Graham Martin, is pushing for *one billion dollars of military aid in addition to the $813 million* already appropriated by Congress to South Vietnam in fiscal 1974! (And which does not take into account the massive economic aid program, much of which is used by the military.) More important, only a few days before this news broke in the *Times* Thieu announced that Saigon would now unilaterally attack areas held by the PRG–that "the war is on again." Such attacks have been taking place, with the South Vietnamese Air Force (the third largest in the world) striking against both military and civilian targets in PRG territory. The League warned in its analysis issued shortly after the Paris Agreements that, while we welcomed those Agreements, no one should count on the U.S. gracefully withdrawing from Vietnam–that Nixon would attempt to continue the war by proxy. How tragically correct that proved–and how much more urgency it lends to cripple the power of this Administration to engage in wars of aggression. Not only have 200,000 civilian prisoners held by Saigon not been freed (again in direct violation of the Paris Agreements), but the long-simmering and already bloody "ceasefire war" has now broken out officially, initiated by Thieu, backed and financed by the Nixon Administration. (*Please note* WRL's program to free the civilian prisoners is continuing; copies of *What Can You Do About Thieu's Prisoners?* are available for mass distribution, $2/100.)

We will not argue that the PRG has fully supported every provision of the Paris Agreements–we do argue that it has substantially supported them and substantially sought to have them carried out. Again, this is not simply because the PRG is "pure" and the Saigon regime "evil" (though in comparing the two sides, the PRG is certainly more attractive) but because the PRG deeply believed it could win a "political contest" with Thieu, and Thieu was equally convinced he would lose such a contest. Thus no real movement has taken place toward creating the proposed tripartite machinery that would lead to elections–Thieu has blocked it. He has, in fact, moved in the opposite direction and, shortly after the Paris Agreements were signed, removed all elected village chiefs *in his own territory*–preferring instead to appoint these officials in order to be sure of their loyalty.

Thus the new year opens with new military actions, initiated by Thieu, supported by Washington. How urgent it is for the American people not only to change Presidents but to *change policies*, so that Washington cannot wage this "war by proxy" which, like some half-closed wound, has opened again in Vietnam.

Note: This brief analysis leaves out a discussion of the Middle East situation, which is extremely serious. An official statement of WRL policy on the Middle East is being prepared and, after discussion by the National Committee, will be issued.

THE LIVES OF TRACY D. MYGATT AND FRANCES WITHERSPOON

by Ann Morrissett Davidon

Two of the founders of the War Resisters League died on its 50th anniversary within a month of each other in Philadelphia. Tracy D. Mygatt, age 88, died on Thanksgiving Day, November 22; Frances Witherspoon, age 87, died on December 16. Over the past two years, when I had come to know them better than I had during our brief encounters in New York in the '50s, they were frail but still keeping up their vigorous correspondence with friends, Congressmen, and editors. Tracy had a fall more than a year ago. Her movement and eyesight were impaired, which depressed her and caused her to state frequently—not complainingly—that it is miserable to grow old. Frances was in better health and took care that Tracy did not over-exert herself. Frances was able to attend the WRL 50th anniversary party in Germantown, at which she and Tracy, both honorary co-chairpersons of WRL, were guests of honor. Tracy stayed home, however. Dave McReynolds, Irma Zigas and I went to visit her and found her sitting on the porch in a colorful flowered dress, looking rather wistful.

Tracy and Frances shared a suite at Stapeley Hall, the retirement home run by Friends in Philadelphia's Germantown. They had been there since 1969, when they felt they could no longer manage in their house near Brewster, NY. At Stapeley Hall they took active part in a weekly political discussion and letterwriting group organized by their fellow classmate of 1908 at Bryn Mawr College, Lucy Carner. Only the year before they moved to Philadelphia, in 1968, Frances queried Bryn Mawr as to why alumnae were not protesting the Vietnam war more vigorously, and as a result of her efforts over a thousand names of alumnae were collected for a full-page anti-war statement in the *New York Times* and the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin.*

Stapeley Hall is a pleasant and cheerful place and their suite there was comfortable, but they did not like leaving their own home and they never pretended to feelings they did not have. They did not like having their bodies cease to function well, and Tracy in particular often advised me to "never grow old." It was of course the specific infirmity more than the age itself that annoyed her—and she did not put up with it for very long after it really began to affect her minimal activities. I do not know what she and Frances died of, technically, but the fact is that neither of them really wanted to live any longer when it became clear during the past year that they could no longer keep up their correspondence and occasional visits with friends. Frances had had a successful and apparently not serious operation last fall and was recovering in the hospital when Tracy died. I did not see her after Tracy's death, as she was not well enough to come to her memorial service. But she told friends, specifically, that she did not want to live beyond Tracy's death. Evan Thomas saw her the day before she died, when she had just—unhappily—been moved from the Germantown hospital to the Resthaven Nursing Home where Tracy had died. Evan, for those who may not know, was an imprisoned CO in World War I and all during his subsequent distinguished medical career remained even more adamently anti-war than his well-known brother Norman Thomas. Still a practicing physician in Philadelphia, Evan reminisced with Abe and Ida Kaufman, David McReynolds, Jim Peck, Edward Gottlieb, Ralph DiGia, Barbara Deming and several others of us in Philadelphia at a small gathering following the service for Tracy Mygatt. Some of these then went to visit Frances at the hospital, their last visit. Both Frances and Tracy had arranged for their bodies to be given to medical research, and were survived by no close relatives.

Perhaps the last photos taken of them were those I took less than a year ago and which appear on page one of this issue. Both still were fine-looking women and the beauty and strength of their earlier years shone in those photographs. When Tracy and Frances left Bryn Mawr College in 1908, they stayed for a while in the Philadelphia area and did social work, then went to New York and immediately plunged into organizing "church raids," an effort to open up churches to the unemployed for aid and shelter. They took part in the women's suffrage movement, and in its major parade in Washington in which Tracy portrayed "Justice" on a float, and Frances—whose Witherspoon ancestors had settled in Mississippi early in the 19th century—represented Mississippi. They went to Washington again in 1917 to try to keep the U.S. out of World War I. During the war Frances helped to organize the Bureau for Legal Advice for COs. Roger Baldwin, a Bureau member, went on to organize the American Civil Liberties Union.

Following the war Tracy and Frances helped organize the first amnesty parade. The Anti-Enlistment League, which they had established early in World War I, developed by 1923 into the War Resisters League. Throughout these years they co-authored many articles and a book about the apostles, *The Glorious Company,* was given a front-page review in the *New York Times* book section in 1928. Tracy also wrote a number of plays, including *Good Friday,* about the treatment of a CO imprisoned in WW I, and *Stranger On The Earth.* Tracy was author of *Julia Newberry's Sketch Book; The Life Of Two Future Old Maids.* Tracy and Frances also co-edited *Four Lights,* the periodical of the Women's Peace Party, headed by Jane Addams. (Last issue stated, erroneously, that *Four Lights* was the erstwhile publication of WILPF.)

Tracy was a founder of Campaign for World Government, and up to her death was its eastern secretary. Both were active in WRL until the '60s, and expressed to me many times their great regret at not having been able to participate bodily in the massive anti-war demonstrations that occurred in the late '60s and early '70s. They were longtime members of FOR, ACLU, SANE, WILPF and other groups. Their last organizational religious participation was in the Episcopal Church, though Frances had come from a long line of Presbyterians and could never bring herself to be confirmed as an Episcopalian. The old hymns and Biblical verses meant much to them, however, according to their Bryn Mawr classmate, Lucy Carner, who arranged for these to be played and read at Tracy's memorial service at the Episcopal Church in Germantown.

Tracy and Frances were personally modest and self-effacing, traits current feminists are struggling to overcome; yet this did not seem to impede their determined struggle against war and militarism, and for human rights. When it came to these issues they were plainspoken, outspoken, stubborn and persistent. This three-quarters of a century has been a lot better than it would have been without such women as Tracy Mygatt, Frances Witherspoon, and their WRL co-founder who died on April 10, 1955, Jessie Wallace Hughan.